

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE Electoral Commission is required by the law of its creation to state as briefly as possible the grounds of its decision, and has done so in the Louisiana as it did in the Florida case. It can hardly be said that in this respect the law has worked well, for, owing to the peculiar construction given it by the majority of the court, the decisions, instead of containing a brief statement of the grounds on which they rest, are, more accurately, a highly elaborate entry of "judgment for the plaintiff." For instance, in the Louisiana case the Commission decides that it has no power "to go into evidence *aliunde* the papers opened by the President of the Senate" to prove that other persons than the regularly returned and certified electors had been appointed electors, or *vice versa*, because the Commission is "of opinion that it is not within the jurisdiction of the two Houses of Congress, assembled to count the votes for President and Vice-President, to enter upon a trial of such question." The Commission also decides that it is not competent to prove that any of the persons appointed electors were ineligible under the Constitution of the United States "at the time when they were appointed," nor that they were ineligible "under the law of the State"; also that the Returning Board was a "lawfully constituted body," and that a vacancy "did not vitiate its proceedings." This may be all the best sort of law, but it will puzzle any lawyer or future Congress to extract any principle from it, and it is greatly to be regretted that the law did not compel the Commission to file regular opinions, as in an ordinary law case. This necessity of stating the process of reasoning which leads a judge to his conclusions is one of the most important guarantees of judicial impartiality, and it cannot but be regretted that the established custom was departed from in this case.

The Senate's notification to the House on Saturday that it was ready to meet in joint convention for the purpose of continuing the count, found that body engaged in the discussion of a resolution to fix the time for meeting on Monday at eleven o'clock. The resolution was carried, and time was thus gained for preparing the formal objection of the House to the Commission's decision and for a caucus which came off in the evening. At this, several resolutions were presented by Western fire-eaters, to the effect that the Commission should have no further recognition from the House, and that no more joint meetings should be held to entertain their decisions; that the Commission had disregarded their oaths and fraudulently refused to obey the law and "the will of the people" by their non-admission of evidence, and that resort should consequently be had to all possible delays "with the view of multiplying issues, and thereby defeating the inauguration of the usurper." Mr. Reagan of Texas, however, offered a sensible resolution that no dilatory opposition should be made, but that the Commission's decisions should be respected in accordance with the law, and the count proceed. He was supported by Senator Bayard and the whole weight of the Southern delegation, and it was noticeable that Mr. John Young Brown of Kentucky and Mr. Ben. Hill of Georgia bore a prominent part in resisting the Western Mexicans. These gentlemen have in the past two years, on account of their differences with Messrs. Blaine and Butler, been put in the light of typical "ex-rebels" aching to get control of things at Washington, and undo the great results of the war. Mr. Reagan's resolution was carried, and the Joint Convention met on Monday as appointed. The House in due course protested against the Louisiana decision, and the Convention separated immediately for further discussion, each house in its own chamber.

The Senate, after a short but lively discussion, confirmed the decision; the House took another day to formulate its dissent. The debate on Tuesday was remarkable only for the speeches of two Massachusetts Republican Representatives, Messrs. Seelye and Pierce, who sided with the opposite party in thinking the Commission's decision contrary to the Constitution. The joint convention reassembled and continued the count as far as Michigan, when a frivolous objection was made to the eligibility of an elector, which was subsequently unanimously overruled by each house. A Nevada elector was next objected to, and the count again delayed.

Mr. J. Madison Wells is reported as considerably elated at the decision on the Louisiana electoral vote, and any one who has followed the progress of Mr. Wells's case will have no difficulty in seeing why. The Democrats had got evidence of an unusually strong character tending to show an intention or readiness to commit fraud. Among other things, it appears from the "offers of proof" made by the Democratic counsel that they were prepared to show that the Returning Board employed "persons of notoriously bad character" to act as their clerks and assistants—viz., one Davis, "then under indictment in the criminal courts of Louisiana"; three gentlemen, named respectively Catlin, Blanchard, and Jewett, "then under indictment for subornation of perjury" (Jewett being also under indictment for obtaining money under false pretences); and, finally, one Isidore McCormick, "then under indictment in a criminal court" for murder—so that, as was suggested during the argument of the case, it would seem as if an indictment of some kind was a necessary qualification for clerical work of the sort to be performed by the Board.

Mr. Hayes's election seems now so well assured that the newspapers have not unnaturally begun to form his Cabinet for him, but as far as our observation has gone the only person on whom there is a general agreement is Mr. Eugene Hale of Maine—a curious expression of the widespread confidence that Mr. Hayes will follow the old track. Mr. Hale is to be put in (1) because he would satisfy the claims of Mr. "Zach" Chandler, being his son-in-law; (2) because he would satisfy the claims of Mr. James G. Blaine, having been "brought up" by him; and (3) because he is one of the smartest and most dexterous little machinists in the political army. He was Mr. Blaine's managing man at the Cincinnati Convention; he was one of the "visiting statesmen" who whitewashed the Louisiana Returning Board on a three weeks' acquaintance, and he violently opposed the Electoral Commission; so that he really seems cut out for a reform Cabinet. We imagine the public will ask but few things at Mr. Hayes's hands in the selection of his advisers, and they are these: That he will put no one into his Cabinet who has been connected by connivance, complicity, or apology with that compound of nepotism, lawlessness, and corruption called "Grantism"; that he will put no one into it who has been mixed up in any of the politico-financial jobs, contracts, or speculations, whether in banking, railroading, or mining, which have during the last eight years disgraced the country abroad and lowered the tone of our public life; that he will put no one into it who has ever made himself conspicuous as the advocate of any form of inflation or repudiation; and no one who has either been a carpet-bagger or a confederate of carpet-baggers at the South, or who has labored in any shape or way for the prolongation of sectional hatred, or sought to build up or maintain a party organization on the passions of the late war; and, finally, nobody who has been connected with the late Returning Board frauds as a promoter, a participant, a defender, or a screener.

In all the debates in the House over the Presidential dispute, ever since the election, the Southern members have been foremost in supporting a policy of peace and moderation: they held the violent Northern Democrats in check in the earlier days of the controversy; they threw their influence in favor of the plan of arbitration; they helped to pass it, and since the decision has gone against them they have counselled a cheerful submission and have discountenanced all schemes for "filibustering" or delay or resistance. The leading Republican papers, including even the organs of the Desperadoes, have been compelled to acknowledge this with various degrees of heartiness. We now call attention to it once more for the sake of the light it throws on the conduct of the Republican leaders last summer in wickedly converting the canvass into a "bloody shirt" crusade against the South, and in presenting Mr. Hayes's election to the public as a continuance of the civil war. Mr. Wheeler in particular ought to blush when he remembers that he allowed himself to be selected to lead off in this nefarious business, and went up to Vermont and unscrupulously told the people that they were to cast their votes as a continuation of the battle of Gettysburg. If it be asked why we bring this up now when the contest is over, we reply that it is only by "bringing things up" which political schemers would like to have forgotten that the public can be prepared for them when they reappear with a new dodge or fraud, which they are sure to do before very long. That Messrs. Blaine, Chandler, Morton, and their kind are going to settle down to the dull work of promoting peace and harmony and tranquillity, of reforming the civil service, of restoring the currency and lightening the burdens of taxation, is something which we have no reason to expect. What is most likely is that they will try to maintain their bad eminence by stirring up some new form of dissension, by giving the alarm over some sham danger, or by concocting some sensation calculated to destroy public interest in the work of sane and orderly progress.

The facts about the Oregon telegrams seem to be these: The Democratic campaign was managed partly through the National Committee, of which Mr. Hewitt is chairman, and partly through another organization known as the "Literary Bureau," an institution created with the avowedly innocent object of disseminating sound political information, but easily used for other and less innocent objects. At the head of this bureau was Mr. Pelton, Mr. Tilden's nephew, and for his Oregon correspondence Mr. Pelton himself is alone probably responsible, though his telegrams, sent as they were from Mr. Tilden's house, have a compromising look which, to say the least, is unfortunate. The operations of Mr. Pelton should, however, be carefully distinguished from those of Mr. Hewitt, who is entirely above reproach or suspicion in this matter, and, in fact, could have had, from the circumstances, no connection with it. Patrick, the Oregon agent, appeared in the transaction accidentally, as a substitute for another man. He is closely connected by ties of interest or affection with one Davis, a gentleman whose name has appeared prominently in connection with the history of the Emma Mine. Whether the translation of the telegrams which passed between Patrick and Pelton is correct or no, remains to be settled, and it is much to be hoped that there have been grave mistakes in deciphering them. As to one of them signed "Gobble," which was translated "Governor," Mr. Grover has made the most positive denial. This, of course, does not prove that the key to the cipher is incorrect, as some one may have used his title in signing the despatch for the same reason that Patrick wanted Mr. Kelly's name. Altogether, the Oregon case does not become more attractive as time goes on.

A wild article in the last number of the *Capital*, a Washington paper edited by Mr. Don Piatt, after groaning terribly over the decision of the Commission, says: "If a man thus returned to power can ride in safety from the Executive Mansion to the Capitol to be inaugurated, we are fitted for the slavery that will follow the inaugu-

ration," and it adds afterwards that "if there is a law for fraud, there is reason for violence, and to that end we make our last appeal." It appears that this raving has excited more or less commotion in the Cabinet, and there has been consultation as to what ought to be done, and it is reported that the editor is to be indicted and punished, if possible, for "incendiary writing." We trust that nothing of the kind will be attempted. It will simply advertise the *Capital*, and give the editors of every struggling paper in the country a motive for recommending murder and insurrection. If the good sense of the public does not make this sort of talk harmless, no use of legal machinery will do so. Considering the impunity which almost every species of rascal has enjoyed under the present Administration, and the ease with which "guilty men" have escaped, it would be pitiful now in the last week to grow stern and inexorable over a bit of newspaper delirium.

The Senate has adopted a resolution which has also been agreed to by the House, allowing the Silver Commission till the 24th of this month to report; has passed the bill for the taxation of property in the District of Columbia; has concurred in the House amendments of the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill; and has had a discussion of the bill providing for a settlement between the Government and the Pacific Railroads, in the course of which Mr. Booth of California was indiscreet enough to refer to Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts as being, since Talleyrand, the best master of the art of "saying what he did not mean, and meaning what he did not say." This complimentary comparison Mr. Dawes resented, and it was afterwards "withdrawn." Senator Kelly of Oregon has explained his approval of the cipher despatch sent by Patrick, proposing the purchase of a Republican elector, in a manner which we believe is generally considered by those who know Mr. Kelly's previous reputation to be satisfactory. He says that Patrick misstated the contents of the despatch to him, representing its purport to be that \$10,000 were wanted for legitimate expenses, and begging him to sign his name in order that the despatch might receive more immediate attention. This he did, without having the cipher translated, and so without any knowledge of the real nature of the proposal.

In the House Mr. Purman of Florida has made a speech, declaring it to be his opinion, and a matter of common notoriety, that Florida went for Tilden, and denouncing the Hayes count as dishonest. The Naval Appropriation Bill has been passed, with an amendment authorizing the appointment of an unpaid commission, to consist of the Admiral of the Navy, the General of the Army, two naval officers to be designated by the President, two Senators and three Representatives, to decide and report upon the future naval policy of the country.

Bishop Whipple publishes a long letter in the New York *Tribune* on the Indian war, in which he ascribes its origin to a mistake of the late Mr. E. P. Smith, who outlawed the Indians who had innocently left the reservation to hunt, and ordered them to be treated as hostile unless they came back within an impossible period—that is, before February 1, 1876. In March they were attacked by the troops, and the miserable fight has gone on ever since, the United States, on the whole, getting the worst of it. He denounces in terms none too strong our indiscriminate onslaughts on the men, women, and children of their villages, and on the employment against them of other savages—Pawnees and Crows—their hereditary enemies. He shows that in spite of a solemn pledge given by the President, and joined in by the Indian Commissioner and General Sherman, that the property of friendly Indians remaining peaceably at the agencies should not be molested, two thousand ponies were taken away from those at Cheyenne and Standing Rock agencies last fall and driven across the prairie towards St. Paul. Most of them perished on the way, and the rest were sold. The Indians have received neither money nor vouchers, and not even

an inventory has been taken of the property of which they were despoiled. They now have to live thirty or forty miles from the agency for the sake of fuel, and have to cross this distance of frozen prairie in midwinter on foot to draw their rations.

He speaks in the highest terms of the qualities of the Sioux whom we are fighting; quotes the testimony of the leading army officers as to the intolerable nature of the wrongs which have driven them into war; calls the seizure of the Black Hills "a great robbery"; and, finally, tells one story which ought to make everybody connected with the Indian Administration of the United States feel ashamed and repentant. Fourteen hundred of the Sioux concerned in the Minnesota massacres of 1864 fled into British territory. They have dwelt there in peace and quiet ever since, on a reservation assigned to them, and the Secretary of the Interior of the Dominion reports that when it was proposed to remove some of them to another reservation, "their white neighbors objected, because they had been found so useful." In short, General Grant's Indian policy, like his other policies, has been a failure, and for the same reason. It has been marked by the usual gnomie wisdom and professions of pious aims, but has been backed by no real reform. It was ridiculous in a great Government to hand over a leading department of administration to missionaries and ministers without training or experience, instead of making a thorough clearance of the jobbers, corrupt contractors, post-traders, and thieving agents, and the organization of a proper skilled service for this special work. The result has been that "the guilty men have escaped"; "we have not had peace"; the poor Indians have suffered sorely, and the nation has been disgraced.

The notable events of the week in Wall Street were (1) the transfer of the Central Railroad Company of New Jersey to the hands of a receiver representing its creditors, and the report of the stockholders' investigating committee; (2) the application for a receiver of the Delaware and Hudson, the order to show cause why a receiver should not be appointed having first been issued and then immediately vacated by Judge Donohue; (3) the issue of the annual report of the company; (4) the issue of the annual report of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western; and (5) the annual election of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, which resulted in putting into the board of directors the representative managers of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, and the Erie Railroads. All these events bore directly on speculation in stocks, and the market was very sensitive and changeable. The report of the Jersey Central stockholders' committee was an appalling exhibit, and created distrust of everything which had been represented as good. This made attacks on other companies both easy and successful. The Delaware and Hudson was represented to be no better than Jersey Central, and the statement was made credible by the announcement that the courts had authorized preliminary steps for the appointment of a receiver. On this the stock sold as low as 45, and it was predicted that it would go to 10, the lowest price for Jersey Central. When the order to show cause was vacated, and it became known that the annual report was forthcoming, the stock began to advance, and when the annual report actually appeared, rose to 57½. This report showed that the company has property beyond its capitalization and debt, and earned \$300,000 above first charges; but it gave no hope to shareholders that they will receive dividends until the price of coal advances. The annual report of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western showed that first charges were earned and \$720,000 more; the stock of this company was comparatively steady throughout. The effect of the changes in the Atlantic and Pacific direction was to break down the price of the stock of the rival line (Western Union Telegraph) from 70½ to 63½. The interest in the stock speculation overshadowed that in other Wall-Street markets. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar ranged between \$0.9445 and \$0.9478. Silver fell to 56d. in London, which makes the gold value of the proposed 412½-grain silver dollar \$0.9358.

All the news from the East goes to strengthen the anticipation of war. Russia continues to mobilize fresh corps, and the despatch of troops to the Pruth and the preparations for their passage through Rumania continues. Moreover, although perhaps no one story about the condition of the army is to be implicitly relied on, there is a general concurrence in all the accounts that it is in good spirits and good condition, and there is much color for the belief which we have more than once expressed that the earlier reports about its unreadiness were designedly spread, and that, in fact, Russia has not been above luring the Turks on into their present position of arrogant defiance by an affectation of hesitation or weakness. She has evidently employed her truce very profitably while waiting for the spring to open. She has succeeded in getting Turkey into a false position towards Europe, and has sown division in Turkish councils by seducing the progressive party into making promises and drawing up programmes of reform which the old Turks will never accept; she has made it certain that England will not protect Turkey, and has probably by this time solved the remaining part of the problem by securing Austrian neutrality, either by direct arrangement with that Power or by an agreement with Germany that there shall be no meddling in the fight on anybody's part. It has probably needed an intimation from Germany that she means to see fair play, to quiet the disposition of the Magyars to force Austria into a threatening attitude of some kind towards Russia.

Although it is quite certain that the Turks will fight hard, and that they will not be driven out of Bulgaria without heavy losses, we must not be deceived by stories of Turkish valor and obstinacy, or of the size of the Turkish forces, or the perfection of their armament, as to the probable result of the conflict. The Turkish troops are brave and well armed, and the high commands seem well filled, but the regimental officers are poor, and there is absolutely nothing worthy of the name of medical or transportation service, or commissariat. The losses from disease are already reported to be enormous. As long as the Turks try to hold their present positions, therefore, in which they have supplies accumulated, they will be formidable antagonists, but as soon as their line is broken, and any necessity arises for rapid movement, and especially movement in retreat, it is difficult to see what is to prevent a total débâcle. The country is not one in which an army in rapid motion can live, and the Turkish troops are wholly dependent for transportation on the impressed ox-wagons of the peasantry. It must be borne in mind, too, that the troops which have been hurrying from Asia to the Danube for the last three months are raw levies fresh from the plough, and that behind this first line there are no reserves whatever, and an empty treasury. The contest, therefore, if Russia is in real earnest, is, as far as the Turks are concerned, a mad one.

The Turkish question has again come up in Parliament. On the 16th, Mr. Gladstone questioned the Ministers as to whether a passage in one of Lord Derby's despatches to Sir Henry Elliot meant that they still considered themselves bound by any treaty engagements to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish power and dominion, he, for his part, maintaining that England was absolved from all engagements to support or protect Turkey, owing to Turkey's failure to carry out the promises of reform made in 1856. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, in replying, denied that England was absolved from her engagements, but construed them as simply binding her not to draw the sword to constrain Turkey, while placing her under no obligation to help Turkey in her quarrels with other Powers; but he declined to give any pledges as to what the future course of the Ministry would be, and taunted the Opposition with their timidity in not backing up their questions with a motion. The debate was resumed on Tuesday in the House of Lords, when Lord Salisbury made his expected defence of himself and the Conference. He attributes the stubbornness of the Turks to their tremendous infatuation about the state of the Russian army, caused by the reports of irresponsible advisers, as we have suggested above.

THE DECISION OF THE COMMISSION.

THE Presidential contest may now be considered over, and, if it has not ended satisfactorily, all that can be said is that the nature of the controversy was such that a satisfactory ending to it was not possible. If the Commission had decided to "go behind the returns," to the extent asked for by the Democrats, although it might have given Mr. Tilden a clearer title to the place than the present finding can give Mr. Hayes, it would have prepared the way for endless complications at future elections, and perhaps for the conversion of the Presidential election into a farce. We should have had to prepare ourselves for "double returns" from two-thirds of the States and a fight in Congress over the vote of each State, which would have caused the count to last for a year, and would, every fourth year, have inflicted a season of complete paralysis on business.

The decision is unfortunate in the present case because, although it gives a sufficient title to the Presidency, it does not give the title for which the country looked. We have got a decision from the authority to which both sides referred the dispute that, under the existing law, the power which the Republican majority in Congress has several times exercised of going behind the electors' certificates does not properly belong to Congress, and that the manner of producing the certificates cannot be enquired into. This settles the present controversy as to the Presidency, but it does not decide who, within a reasonable field of enquiry, was truly elected, and consequently does not enable Mr. Hayes "to pass unchallenged to the Presidential chair." It leaves in doubt the question whether his majorities in two States were not taken from his opponent and transferred to him by a band of disreputable persons discharging the duties of canvassers. This, it must be confessed, is most regrettable, and would be so even if it were not the result of a strict party vote. It leaves the Democrats sore and angry as well as disappointed, and it certainly is not pleasant to many good Republicans to see "the great party" sneaking out of court after getting the indictment against it quashed on a technicality. Of course this is better than going to jail, but it is not a species of escape from jail that honorable men feel comfortable about or are inclined to chuckle over.

As regards the practical effect of the decision, it leaves Mr. Hayes free to do what he would not, in our opinion, have been free to do if the Republican Desperadoes had had him counted in by the Vice-President. He takes the place now without discredit, though he takes it as part of a solution which we all accept because it is a solution, and not because it is the kind of solution we hoped for. That the majority should have been a party majority is unfortunate, but it is absurd now to base charges of dishonesty on this circumstance. That party attachments were likely to create a bias was frankly recognized in the constitution of the Board; to say now that because both sides voted in the direction of party bias some one man must have been dishonest, is as absurd as the position of those impeachers of Andrew Johnson who held that any Republican Senator who did not vote guilty on some one article—they did not care which—must be corrupt. Men may well be irritated and disappointed by the judgment, but they ought not to become childish over it. Everybody knows that had any member voted against his party there would have been the same outcry from a different quarter. The services of Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold would have been called into use to illustrate his wickedness and baseness for many a day.

The circumstances under which Mr. Hayes takes the Presidency greatly deepen his responsibility. He has to shoulder one burden from which we had hoped that the Commission would deliver the successful candidate. His very success as an administrator will be regretted by many good men as likely to cheat people into forgetfulness of, or indifference to, the mode in which he has obtained his seat. This will be hard to bear, and is something which many a sensitive man would find intolerable, but it is as well as the other

unpleasantnesses of the position has now to be faced and to be lived through and lived down. He has no alternative but to serve, and to serve as ably as he can. Against this questioning of his title and this fear that his election may prove an evil precedent, he will be able to oppose the great opportunity presented to him of showing the country that the disorders, corruptions, and abuses of the last eight years are but sequelæ of the Civil War, which need not and will not permanently befoul the stream of our politics, and that even four years of honest and efficient government will not only cause people to forget the tricks of the Returning Boards, but make the repetition of those tricks impossible. He has it in his power, too, to accomplish a most beneficent revolution at the South by bringing the blacks and whites into natural and pleasant political relations, and helping to rid the mind of the poor negroes of the notion that they are able to carry on complicated governments of great commercial States by the aid of corrupt adventurers from other communities, and by drawing off the attention of the whites from the ancient and stultifying study of negro character to the loftier problems of national politics. Apropos of this, we must express the hope that General Grant will not suffer himself to be tempted by any of his following into recognizing either of the contending parties in South Carolina or Louisiana in the last week of his Administration. The duty of settling those imbroglis falls with the responsibility to Mr. Hayes, who will readily see that the decision of the Electoral Commission as to his own title settles nothing as to the title of Packard or Chamberlain. The Commission has simply refused to enquire whether the State Returning Boards have acted honestly or not, but has not decided that they *have* acted honestly. Enquiry into their performances will therefore not be closed to Mr. Hayes, and if he is satisfied that they have cheated in the return of the State officers, it will be his duty, as well as his right, to recognize as governors the persons who are in his opinion entitled to the places; and we must all hope that those persons will be competent to protect life and property, and put the criminal courts in motion for the purpose, and that the investigation of crimes and outrages will be performed by police magistrates, and not reserved, as hitherto, for Boards of Canvassers at the Presidential elections.

Finally, let us add that Mr. Hayes is receiving a great deal of help, ill though the wind be that brings it to him, from the "Oregon despatches." That correspondence of this character should be traced to the house of a Presidential candidate is an unprecedented scandal, and it is not mitigated by the fact, if fact it be, that Mr. Tilden knew nothing of the corrupt negotiations his "Zach," Mr. Pelton, was carrying on with the Oregon politicians. Mr. Tilden is nothing if not shrewd and watchful, and, whether he knew of Pelton's operations or not, we can conceive of no adequate excuse for his leaving it in the power of so foolish and unprincipled a person to compromise him so directly by sending from his own house offers of money to buy up governor and electors. Blunders of this kind are crimes, and the discovery of this one is doing a great deal to reconcile people to the decision of the Commission. They would not relish the prospect of seeing Colonel Pelton installed at the White House as a second Babcock.

On the other hand, one deplorable result of the affair is that it will diminish or efface the impression which the performances in Louisiana were at last beginning to make on the Republican conscience, hardened though it was by the war and prolonged contemplation of Democratic wickedness. The saddest feature, perhaps, in the late canvass was the desperate efforts which honorable and upright men made to shut their eyes to the doings of "Zach" and his confederates in their fear of Tilden and the South. These painful contortions were stopped by the action of the Returning Boards, and the work of repentance and purification was almost completed by the appearance of J. Madison Wells and his companions at Washington. We fear the Oregon despatches, over which the Desperadoes are so joyful, will arrest this work of grace, and lead many an anxious sinner to look back with a certain tenderness on the transgressions and shortcomings of last summer.

THE PARTY PASSION FOR INCOMPETENCY.

THE bill which has just passed the State Assembly prescribing the duties of the Superintendent of Public Works, who, in virtue of the late amendment to the Constitution, succeeds the old Canal Commissioners, has one section which is in many respects so remarkable and so hopeful a sign of the times that we cannot help quoting it in full:

"In case any officer or employee in the service of the State, under the provisions of this bill, shall use his power, position, or patronage for the promotion or defeat of partisan or party purposes, it shall be deemed good and sufficient cause for removal; and in case any superior officer, having authority, shall refuse or neglect to take cognizance thereof, and to remove therefor, the question of such violation may be tried and determined by any justice of the Supreme Court having jurisdiction in the county wherein such alleged violation occurred, upon the written charges made under oath by five substantial freeholders of the neighborhood; and in case the said justice shall sustain such charges, he shall certify that fact to the Superintendent of Public Works, or, in case of the hearing of charges against the latter, to the governor, who, upon the receipt of such certificate, shall remove such inculpated officer or employee. And no increase of the force upon the canals shall be made at any time within sixty days preceding any annual election for State officers, except when the Superintendent of Public Works shall certify that the needs of the public service make such increase necessary at that time, which certificate shall be immediately published when made in the official State journal."

The old elected Canal Commissioners were simply persons chosen by the party conventions for the distribution of the canal patronage among faithful workers of high and low degree, and in fact the canals and their revenues and expenditures were for many a year previous to the late exposures one of the great prizes for which parties in this State contended, and perhaps one of the most fertile sources of corruption ever opened under a free government. "The Canal Ring," as it was called—that is, a band of contractors in collusion with the commissioners and engineers—virtually ruled the State as to all matters touching its own interests, and the country population along the whole line, from the Lakes to the Hudson, were debauched by it into a sort of unconscious dishonesty in all their relations to the public. When we remember these things it is impossible to estimate too highly the change which has been made. What it will do for the management of the canals is in itself a great thing, but what it may do for the purification of New York State politics is a greater. This would be true even if it meant simply the concentration of responsibility in a single man, appointed by the governor and Senate instead of being elected, and holding office during good behavior instead of for a short term. Its good effects are made doubly sure by the section we have quoted, which not only forbids the use of the public works for partisan purposes, but puts it in the power of private persons who witness or suspect such use to have it examined and punished; and the mere fact that it has been possible to procure the enactment of such a provision from a New York legislature shows that the cause of civil-service reform is not in so hopeless a condition, or rather so backward a condition, as a good many politicians would like to persuade us.

But anybody who reads the section will naturally ask why its operation is confined to the management of the canals; why it is not extended to all public works; why it does not apply to parks, buildings, and, above all, to the service of municipalities? Why is it not made a punishable offence for mayors, comptrollers, and commissioners of all sorts to use their power over their subordinates, or to increase the number of their employees before election for partisan purposes? The objection to it in the case of the canals is that it is a roundabout way of cheating the taxpayer, and this is precisely the objection to it everywhere. The employment of laborers who are not wanted, or the employment of them with other motives than the exaction from them of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, or the dismissal of them for other reasons than want of use of them, or their incapacity or misconduct, is an offence against the people in every department of the administration,

both State and federal, and the difficulties of abolishing it are nearly the same in every department. Foremost among these is the feeling of the superior officers themselves that the safest thing for them to do is to make friends with the jobbers and politicians, and that the support of the public in resistance to them is not to be counted on with any certainty. On the other hand, the public does not give its support largely because it has no adequate means of doing so. All elective officers are supposed in theory to be responsible to the people, but the people have never been provided with any means of making this responsibility felt. The typical "bad man" in office rarely expects to serve for more than one term, and just as popular indignation has been thoroughly roused by his misdeeds he is prepared to retire with his booty into the recesses of private life. Attempts have been made by legislation to enable municipal taxpayers to assail unworthy officials in the courts in the midst of their public career, but it is easy to see that any general supervision of officers by individual taxpayers or small bodies of them might, if made to cover too wide a field, be converted into an instrument of factious obstruction or persecution, and it would be difficult to arrange for the introduction of any such check on malfeasance into the machinery of general government. But it is also true that the habit of using the civil service in aid of political parties will probably never be broken up until the officer is fortified or stimulated in his resistance to it by some power on the part of mere bystanders to call him to account. Mere newspaper exposure or denunciation will hardly suffice. A man is not troubled by having it made known to the world that he is an unscrupulous partisan; in fact, he is apt to fancy that a certificate of this kind will raise him in the estimation of the managers on whom his political fortunes are dependent. But he would be greatly troubled by the knowledge that his tricks with the civil service were watched by men outside of politics, and that these men had readier and simpler means of punishing them than "working" against him at the next convention, a task for which most of those who care anything about civil-service reform are totally unfitted.

Public attention has been somewhat withdrawn from this subject during the last three or four years, owing to the general hopelessness of accomplishing any change for the better under General Grant's Administration. We are now about to witness the commencement of a new régime, and it is to be hoped another attempt to deal with this monster evil of our politics. The extent to which one lights on it in every department of public affairs, in small as well as in great things, is something marvellous. One of our morning papers, not many weeks ago, instituted enquiries into the problem by which the mind of the Post-Office Department is just now agitated—the discovery of some means of indelibly defacing postage-stamps. It appears that the present mark is easily washed off, and all efforts to find a satisfactory substitute have thus far been useless. The reporter, after hearing all that was to be said about it, asked innocently whether they used the same stamping-ink in England and on the Continent that was used here, and learned that they did but had not the same difficulty about defacement—the reason being that the postmasters stamped more carefully and thoroughly; and the reason the American postmasters did not do so was that the Department had not the same control over them, and could not call them to account with the same rigidity for negligence. This is not surprising, inasmuch as the Postmaster-General does not select the postmasters, and if he removes one, which he cannot do except for some very serious offence, the power of filling the place belongs to the Senator or Representative. In other words, the best compound for defacing postage-stamps is the resumption of the appointing power by the President and heads of department.

In this city the records of the city courts are well arranged, well kept, and perfect, so that access to a paper is an easy task; the reason is that the judges appoint the clerks for competency and fidelity. In the Supreme Court, where the clerk is an elected officer, the records have been seriously tampered with, and it is by no means uncommon to find that papers

which anybody has any interest in abstracting—decrees of divorce, for instance—are gone. In Albany Mr. Bigelow, the present Secretary of State, in recently overhauling the State archives and providing them with a better custodian, has found papers cut out and made away with the mere titles of which would fill a page of the *Nation*, all owing to "rotation" and the bestowal of important trusts on shiftless, characterless, and ignorant adventurers who have armed themselves with some kind of political claim. The politicians, in fact, have been working at the national edifice with the minute and searching diligence of white ants. There is no corner or closet or piece of furniture too small or remote for their ravages. There is no duty to the public so lowly that they have not in some manner contrived to degrade or pervert it. They cannot bear to see any office filled by a man equal to its responsibilities, and, if they have to get even a sewer cleaned, will cozen, intrigue, and cabal until they can get the job for somebody who is rather too big to enter the sewer or too weak to use his tools effectively after he has entered it. In fact, they have a passion for incompetency, and if we continue to allow them to gratify it many years longer, the retention of our place in civilization will become difficult, if not impossible, for our civil-service abuses do strike at civilization itself.

DISRAELI'S SUCCESSORS.

LONDON, February 3, 1877.

SOME months ago I ventured to predict that the retirement of Mr. Disraeli from the House of Commons might be regarded by his administration and their supporters as "the first milestone on their downward road." If you will allow me I will here mention the grounds on which I based my prediction.

The life of a strong administration is like that of an individual. It commences with all the freshness and hope of youth. It makes mistakes, but these are the mistakes of youth and are easily forgiven. It soon passes into the dulness of middle age, and then shrivels up into decline and incapacity, and passes away, giving place to something young and vigorous, which will go through its four or five years and disappear like its predecessors. The present administration is getting into its decline. The spring of the first two sessions is out of it. The leading members at the head of the great departments of state begin to have that weary look which shows that their work has now become mechanical. Their very movements have lost the elasticity of two years ago, and, as the natural result of the sort of temper which is produced by overwork, rumors of loss of cordiality in their personal relations with each other are borne about official circles. Four years of office must produce jealousies where men are human. There is less of that sort of thing to be found in Tory than in Liberal administrations, or perhaps it is better concealed. But it is no secret that even in the present happy family of twelve which form the Cabinet, animosities are not entirely absent. Whether Lord Salisbury and his chief will meet as friends or not we cannot say; we shall know more about their relations in a few days. But of this we are assured, that Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliot, who, rightly or wrongly, is believed to have been in the close confidence of the Prime Minister throughout the recent Conference, did not affect much cordiality in their later meetings, and the intimacy between the two ambassadorial families was not of the kindest. The Chancellor of Exchequer, now the leader of the House of Commons, and his first lieutenant, the Minister for War, do not regard each other with affection. Whatever his colleagues may think on the subject, Mr. Gathorne Hardy has no mean opinion of his own debating powers, and probably, if he were asked the question, he would say that he was a more effective speaker than Sir Stafford Northcote. He is also an older man, and has sat longer in the House than Sir Stafford. But in spite of this he has been passed over and the leadership of the House has been assigned to his inferior. If, therefore, he ever aspired to the premiership of England, these aspirations he must smother. Unless Sir Stafford Northcote fails more conspicuously than his most intimate friends anticipate, he must be the next Tory prime minister. These reflections have not warmed the cockles of Mr. Hardy's heart towards his rival. At present Mr. Hardy is only sulky. While the more active spirits of the Cabinet have been flying about the country and addressing associations of "Conservative workingmen"—Frankensteins of Tory organization which, now they have conjured them up, they are bound to humor because they cannot allay them—Mr. Hardy has never left his

own fireside except to go gloomily to his office and demand more money for the War Department. There are smouldering flames pent up in that silent man's breast which, unless he is belied, will break forth before the administration is a session older.

The leaders of the Opposition, on the other hand, are rejuvenescent. Four years ago they were fagged with work, and worn out and quarrelsome. Now their spirits are revived; their energies are recruited; they begin to long for work again, and to repine over the loss of the best years of their lives in opposition when they see the work of the departments bungled, as they think, and the policy of the country misdirected by those who now guide her destinies. Lassitude and jealousy on one side; activity, a desire for work, and the friendliness of people who are playing a winning game, on the other—that looks like the beginning of the end.

So much within official circles. Outside, the great Demos has given unmistakable signs that her fickle affections have swung round. The wavering attitude of the Cabinet upon the Eastern question has vexed the country. A strong policy, such as Lord Beaconsfield desired, even if it were mistaken, would have inspired respect. Enthusiasm from at least a section of the country would have been excited if the Cabinet had braved the indignation meetings of the autumn and gone its own way irrespective of the threats and protests of excited multitudes. Lord Beaconsfield would probably have disregarded these unreasoning outbursts, but his Cabinet were frightened. They gave way before the mob. They changed their policy, and by so doing they lost the good-will of their friends without gaining the respect or gratitude of their enemies. And hence it is that the country has wheeled round and is returning Liberals for every Parliamentary seat that becomes vacant.

But there is another cause that is operating to bring about the truth of my prediction—the change of leadership in the House of Commons. Mr. Lincoln's saying as to the impolicy of swapping horses in the middle of the ford can be strikingly illustrated from the annals of English parliamentary life. It would not be difficult to show that on almost every occasion when the leading mind of an administration has been removed, the days of that administration are numbered. To take a couple of recent instances: Lord Palmerston died on the 18th of October, 1865, at the head of a compact majority. Lord Russell succeeded him as Prime Minister in the House of Lords, and Mr. Gladstone as leader in the House of Commons. The administration was driven from office eight months thereafter. Lord Derby, again, resigned the Premiership on the 25th of February, 1868. Mr. Disraeli succeeded, and the administration survived the change for eight months only. In both these cases the new chief was not inferior to the old, and yet he could not keep his administration together. On this occasion the swap has not been to the advantage of the administration. Mr. Disraeli, with all his faults and inconsistencies, was a man of genius, and as such he was lifted a good head and shoulders higher than any man who sat on his side of the House. Sir Stafford Northcote is the most commonplace of men. There is hardly an Irish adventurer in the House who has not a higher claim to be regarded as a man of genius than the present leader. He has merits, but they are not of a high order. These are plodding industry, real or affected candor, calculating civility, and an easy knack of adjusting means to ends with more astuteness than conviction, which may stand him in good stead at critical times. But these qualities, useful no doubt in a subordinate, are not the qualities of a leader of men. They do not inspire enthusiasm, or confidence, or obedience; some of them fail even to inspire respect. Long before the middle of August, unless Sir Stafford Northcote develops faculties the germs of which have hitherto been screened from sight, the discipline of the ministerial benches will be slackened, and the control of the House will be a thing of the future and the past. It is impossible that he can keep six hundred and fifty-eight middle-aged senators docile and amused throughout the dog-days.

But if Sir Stafford Northcote possessed all the virtues which he lacks and if his majority continued to obey him as they did his predecessor, even then his ministry would be overmatched in every debate on which they entered. They have not a single debater in their ranks. Mr. Hardy is their most fluent speaker, but he cannot grapple with an argument. He can declaim against any man, and he has a clear, pleasant voice which penetrates into the remotest corners of the House. He has always a string of Tory platitudes at command which have flowed freely from his lips during the last twenty years, and which never pall upon the intelligences of the country squires who sit behind him. But his mind is one of those which run away from hard discussion and shelter themselves in their own familiar phrases. Mr. Cross is no orator. He can state a prepared case clearly, and can explain the provisions of a bill; but he cannot controvert

an argument, and once driven off the rails laid down for him, he becomes nervous and unsteady. He is not clever on his legs. When Mr. Ward Hunt raises his portly form to speak, the House knows for certain that he will put his foot into it before he sits down. The first few sentences run glibly enough, but he soon says something indiscreet. Then he loses his head, and lashes out wildly to the right and to the left like a great sea-monster in distress. Lord John Manners probably has to rise to explain away his colleague's indiscretion. Lord John is a suave man who can make a polished after-dinner speech to a friendly audience, but he is no more capable of defending the ministerial policy if seriously attacked than an old-fashioned three-decker could defend itself against a modern iron-clad. He would be rammed on the first stroke. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who has recently joined the Cabinet, is a young man under forty. He has acted as Irish Secretary since 1874, and has done his work well. But he, again, is no debater. He can string dull sentences together, but, except a pleasant appearance, he does not possess a single oratorical gift. These are the members of the Cabinet in the Lower House. It is only by considering them one by one that we can rightly appreciate the enormous difference that the loss of Mr. Disraeli's genius makes. Among the other members of the Administration not in the Cabinet there are able, business-men like Mr. Smith and Mr. Bourke. These are both good department men, but neither of them can hold the House. There remain Sir Charles Adderley, a dull official; Mr. Selater-Booth, whose presence in the Ministry only shows the dearth of men of capacity on the Tory side; and Viscount Sandon, whose acrid denominationalism and smug sententiousness irritate even the most amiable of his own supporters. There are also three young under-secretaries who occasionally rush into debates from which their elders shrink; but they do not add much to the wisdom of the House or the dignity of debate by reducing all things to the pleasing level of the society at Eton known by the familiar name of "Pop."

These men constitute the remnant of the Tory Ministry which the Earl of Beaconsfield has left behind him. Just consider whom and what they have to encounter. There is first the colossal genius of Mr. Gladstone, the most convincing of speakers, and the sweet eloquence of Mr. Bright. There is Mr. Lowe, with his ready, if somewhat cruel, logic, and the strong common sense and directness of purpose possessed by Lord Hartington. Mr. Goschen's trenchant argument is there, and Mr. Forster's burly shrewdness. Mr. Childers, too, opposes them with his trained debating talents and his mastery of detail, and the smooth vehemence of Mr. Stansfeld is available when it is wanted. These men were all in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet. Outside it the Tory forces have to meet the classical invective of Sir William Harcourt, who now acts loyally with his party, and the forensic aptitude of Sir Henry James. Behind these again there is some solid sense in Mr. Shaw Lefevre's mind which can be produced, and there is the sharpened intelligence of Mr. Dodson, the wide reading and varied knowledge of Mr. Grant Duff, and the professional finish of Mr. Lyon Playfair's speeches, to be reckoned with by the members of the Treasury bench. And among the rank and file on the Liberal side of the House there is no lack of ready speakers and accomplished debaters, every one of whom, except perhaps some wavering Irishmen, will be eager to have an opportunity of letting off the pent-up steam of the recess at the earliest opportunity.

It wants but little wisdom to see that the Ministry must be steadily out-debated throughout the session. But debating does not turn out a ministry. It discredits a ministry, and tells in the end when the constituencies have to be consulted and asked whether they will support the old discredited ministry or a new, untried one. With the staunch majority which the Tories still possess, there is not much chance of their being outvoted during this session, and it is only voting that turns out a ministry. In the natural course of events, a dissolution need not take place before the commencement of 1880. But the process of disintegration going on within the House will not suffer events to run their natural course. The wisest and most experienced men predict that this Parliament may live two sessions more, and that the autumn of 1878 will bring constituencies and would-be representatives once more together.

Correspondence.

GEORGIA AMONG THE DEFAULTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your article on defaulting Southern States (in last week's number) you name eight States which are at present defaulters in their obli-

tions. You have, however, omitted one which, though perfectly able to fulfil its obligations, refuses to acknowledge part of its debts legally created and mostly held by *bona-fide*, innocent investors in Europe, who having trusted to the good name of Georgia, the Empire State of the South, were in the most shameful manner cheated out of their investment. There are now held in Europe nearly three million dollars' worth of bonds issued by the Brunswick and Albany Railroad Company, and legally guaranteed by the State of Georgia, over the signatures of the Governor, Treasurer, and Secretary of State, the proceeds of which were applied to the construction of the B. & A. Railroad according to law; and though these bonds are not held by carpet-baggers but by *bona-fide* investors, having been purchased solely on the strength of the guaranty of the State of Georgia, the State refuses to fulfil its guaranty, and rather sees its good name defamed amongst European investors than meet an obligation which is so very small in amount that to pay it not even the taxes need to be increased, the entire amount in question being scarcely over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year.

Georgia is now considering and agitating the question of direct immigration from Europe, but any scheme for such a purpose, however well laid out, must prove unsuccessful so long as every farmer and workingman in Europe on looking into his newspaper finds at the head of the list of repudiated American securities the bonds of the State of Georgia. S.

NEW YORK, February 17, 1877.

Notes.

A LIFE of the late Gerrit Smith has been undertaken by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who will be obliged for any suggestions or material that may be sent to his address, 50 West Thirty-sixth Street, N. Y. City.—G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready the fifteenth revised edition of 'Haydn's Dictionary of Dates,' brought down to September, 1876, with the usual American supplement; likewise the fifteenth edition, rewritten and extended, of 'The Best Reading,' and a new edition of Bastiat's 'Political Economy,' edited by David A. Wells.—Prof. J. D. Butler's address a year ago on "Pre-historic Wisconsin," delivered before the Historical Society of that State, has been printed and stitched as a circular along with a description, by the same authority, of a silver Dutch medal, commemorating the peace of Westphalia, which was ploughed up near the Mississippi in 1861. Good heliotype illustrations are added of specimens of the remarkable collection of copper implements in the cabinet of the Historical Society, and of the medal, which was unfortunately stolen from the Society in 1865.—The *Index* is the name of a monthly publication designed to classify the contents of the periodical literature of the United States and Great Britain, and the transactions and proceedings of learned societies, and to record the new publications of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany (New York: William Erving). This is very imperfectly carried out in Nos. 1 and 2, and the editor shows himself anything but an adept in cataloguing. He has not even learned to reject the *a* and *the* of titles; and he is very prodigal of space for want of systematic abbreviations and references.—The *Geographical Magazine* for February furnishes a very useful map of the South African Republics, which are now in so much commotion.—The Water-Color Exhibition this year offers two catalogues for sale, one of which is (for the first time) illustrated with autographic fac-similes of pen-drawings, often by the artists themselves, after some of the principal pieces in the exhibition. They are of course only miniature suggestions of the originals, but their use is well recognized, and they are a novelty only in this country. *Harper's Weekly* for February 24 gives a broadside of them.—The first "summer school" which we are able to announce for the coming season will be directed by Prof. Theo. B. Comstock, of Ithaca. A chartered steamer will leave Buffalo or Cleveland about July 5, and will skirt along the shores of Lakes Erie, Huron, and Superior, and possibly Georgian Bay, Green Bay, and Lake Michigan. The geology, zoölogy, and botany of the regions visited will be studied, dredging will be carried on, and lectures will be delivered. The number of students is limited to thirty; the length of the excursion will be from four to six weeks.—The Essex Institute will shortly publish a 'Brief History of the Art of Stenography, with a proposed New System of Phonetic Short-hand,' by Wm. P. Upham.—Hurd & Houghton announce a 'History of Cambridge, Mass.,' by Lucius R. Paige.—Another of Joel Munsell's reprints is to be 'Arnold's Campaign against Quebec,' by John Joseph Henry, one of the soldiers in the expedition.—The next volume of the series of 'Epochs of Modern History,' announced by Scribner, Armstrong & Co., is 'The Roman Triumvirates,'

by Dean Merivale.—We have received the first number of *Les Belles-Lettres*, an eclectic monthly, whose editor is M. Narcisse Cyr (Boston).—A new literary weekly journal, the *Times*, has been started by Mr. E. H. House at Tokio, for the consideration of all subjects which relate to Japan, with a view to the benefit of the nation. Mr. House is known both here and on the other side of the Pacific as a warm admirer of the Japanese, and as the historian of the Formosa campaign.

—"Littell's *Living Age* (No. 1700) for January 13, 1877," writes a correspondent, "gives us a story entitled 'A Peasant Prometheus.' Translated for the *Living Age* from the French of Emile Souvestre." In vol. xxviii. of the *Museum* (January to June, 1836), published by E. Littell, of which the *Living Age* is the continuation, I believe, the same story is copied from the *Athenæum*, which credits it to a paper by M. Souvestre in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 'Industrie et Commerce de la Bretagne.' Its title in the *Museum* is 'The Breton Joiner.' If the translations vary as widely from the original as they do from each other, both are very free; but the story is equally well told. How many readers of to-day of the *Living Age* remember reading the story forty-one years ago in the *Museum*?"

—A history of America, in three volumes of rather more than 200 octavo pages each, has been published in the Norwegian language by the *Skandinaven* in Chicago, the leading Norse paper in the United States. The first volume (published in 1874) treats somewhat elaborately of the prehistoric races, of the Norse discovery of America in the tenth century, and of the expeditions of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and then gives a history of the English, French, and Spanish colonizations ending with the year 1776. The second volume (published 1875) begins with the administration of Washington and ends with the inauguration of Lincoln. The third volume (published 1876) gives a history of the civil war and ends with the inauguration of Andrew Johnson. The work has been published as a gift to those subscribers of the *Skandinaven* who pay promptly in advance, and we learn that more than 10,000 copies have been distributed among the Norsemen in the Northwest. The author is David Monrad Schøyen, a graduate in law from the University of Norway, and now one of the editors of *Skandinaven*. The work is well written, in thorough sympathy with the republic, and both in these respects and in its mechanical execution reflects great credit on the author and the publishers. It is estimated that there are about 600,000 foreign and native-born Scandinavians in the United States, so that the distribution of a United States history among them has a politico-social importance. We heartily recommend it as an example worthy of being followed by newspaper publishers among other foreign nationalities in this country.

—Complete histories of the various foreign settlements in the United States, their social, religious, literary, and other characteristics, will be of great value to future historians in analyzing the national peculiarities of the American people and tracing the sources whence this or that element of strength or weakness flowed. Of the Swedish colony founded on the Delaware in 1638 we have a very excellent history, published in Stockholm in 1759 and written by Israel Acrelius, who was for a time provost of the Swedish churches in America and pastor at Christiana (the first place built on the Delaware). This work, translated into English by William M. Reynolds, D.D., was republished in 1874 in a handsome large-octavo volume of over 500 pp. by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. We are glad to notice that the publishers of *Skandinaven* in Chicago are soon to issue a similar history of the Norse settlements in the United States. It is to be written by David M. Schøyen, author of the United States history mentioned above, and will narrate the various causes that led to emigration, give biographical sketches of the leading men who piloted their countrymen to the West, and in general give a full account of their several settlements, their churches, schools, newspapers, books, business enterprises, of the part they have taken in the politics of the country, in the late war, etc. The work is to be published in the Norse tongue, but a hundred years hence an English translation may be found to be as interesting as Acrelius's 'History of New Sweden.'

—Thirty-five years ago, when Forbes published his 'Radiata of the Eastern Mediterranean,' with descriptions of animals dredged from the sea-bottom, he little knew what zoölogical treasures were to be collected by this method during the succeeding generation. Nevertheless, he was among the first to understand the importance of the dredge, and clearly to appreciate the necessity of pushing our knowledge of fauna along the floor of the ocean till the lowest inhabited point was reached. Since his day nearly every marine scientific expedition has made some attempt at this sort of research; while private persons, such as McAndrew in England, Sars in Norway, and Stimpson and Pourtales in this country have added the

results of their labors. If we may trust preliminary accounts, the *Challenger* expedition, which began its work under Prof. Wyville Thomson in February, 1873, and which returned to England in 1876, has added more to our knowledge of deep-sea animals than all other similar expeditions put together. This good result is to be laid to the careful plan on which observations were conducted, as well as to the lessons which former expeditions had taught. A number of ocean stations—in all 354—were carefully determined. They were selected at proper points on certain courses; and, at each, eleven sorts of observations were made, such as depth, nature of sea-bottom, character of water and of the deep fauna, surface-current and surface-fauna. The animals were packed in jars and marked with the number of the station where they were collected. Proceeding in this methodical manner, the *Challenger* made several cross-sections of the Atlantic, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, went down to the Antarctic zone, passed Australia to visit the Indian Seas, crossed the Pacific Ocean to South America, and returned to England *via* Cape Horn. A voyage of 69,000 miles, occupying three laborious years, has been spent in getting together facts; and now begins their tabulation, a task that is likely to occupy a score of specialists for some years to come. The British Admiralty will publish the results, and will probably print two volumes giving a history of the voyage and a general view of its work, one volume of physics and chemistry, and six volumes of zoölogy—the whole abundantly illustrated and furnished with maps and diagrams. In dividing his material among specialists for publication, Sir Wyville Thomson has shown a wise generosity in not confining the work to his countrymen. Thus, a part of the sponges go to O. Schmidt; the radiolaria to Haeckel; the round echinoderms (sea-eggs) to Agassiz, and the ophiurans (brittle-stars) to Lyman. Two of the most important collections have crossed the Atlantic to be worked up at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in Cambridge. Thomson himself will probably describe the erinoids (lily-stars) and some of the sponges; Allman, the hydrozoa; Busk, the polychaeta; McIntosh, the worms; Moseley, the polyps; Murray, the foraminifera; young Carpenter, the comatulæ; and Günther, the fishes. When all this work has been done, and well done, we shall know much more than we now do of the depths of the sea and of the relations of living and fossil marine animals.

—Death is still busy with our rear-admirals. Six have died since the beginning of the year, and five during the present month—Rear-Admiral Goldsborough having been the last. Of Rear Admiral Charles H. Davis, who died on the 18th inst., we shall speak somewhat fully next week. He was Superintendent of the Naval Observatory at Washington, and had just entered his 71st year.

—We have referred elsewhere to the plundering which has been going on since 1866 in the State archives at Albany. The list is much too long for our space, and at best we can give only a few excerpts from it; but we hope the daily papers will give it a wide publicity. The missing articles embrace Dutch MSS. and English MSS., the ravages in the latter having been by far the more extensive. Among the Dutch we may designate vol. viii., No. 642, Part of a sentence fining Henry Townsend for harboring Quakers; ix., 627, Letter of Governor Endecott, of Massachusetts, to Director Stuyvesant, asking for the surrender of the regicides Whalley and Goffe; xix., 77, Letter of William Beekman to the same on Indian affairs in Delaware. Among the English MSS. we remark vol. xxiii., No. 298, Report of Jacob Leisler on the work of the fortifications; xl., 148, Letter from Sir Edmund Andros to Governor Fletcher, with despatches from London; xliii., 68, Memorial of William Bradford, the printer, for pay; lxxx., 39, Letter from Governor Shirley to Lieutenant-Governor Delancey; lxxxii., 144, Declaration of war against the French; xcii., 80, Letter from General Gage to Lieutenant-Governor Colden; xev., 47, Proclamation of Governor William Franklin, of New Jersey; c., 25, Letter of Sir William Johnson to Governor Tryon; 51, Letter from Governor Hutchinson, of Boston, to the same, on the boundary question. We have named only documents which have not been printed, and but a very small part of these. In one case (lxix., 11) the original was taken away and a copy very kindly left. It would appear that not unfrequently documents have been cut out by the keeper of the records and lent to persons now unknown. In some instances these were returned; in many more, probably, they were not; others, doubtless, have gone into the hands of autograph-collectors and *virtuosi* who are not yet, perhaps, past detection. Mr. Bigelow, the present efficient Secretary of State, to whom we owe these discoveries, has prescribed for the Department of Historical Records the following regulations, which it is to be hoped will either prevent further vandalism or enable the authorities to trace and punish the perpetrators of it:

"1. Persons desiring to consult the historical records of this office will

make their application in writing to the Secretary of State, setting forth their full name, residence, address in Albany, the document they wish to consult, and a reference if required.

"2. The keeper of the historical records will require the written order of the Secretary of State from all persons desiring to consult the records in his charge, which he will record in a book, together with the time when such documents were consulted by the parties presenting such orders."

—As the constitution of Massachusetts now stands, the professors and instructors of Harvard College are disqualified from serving in the General Court of the State. Teachers of other colleges, soldiers, policemen, saloon-keepers, even the holders of profitable State contracts—learned or unlearned, rich or poor—all are, presumably, fit law-makers. The disabilities apply in a marked degree to the Harvard faculty. It should be noted to the credit of the State, however, that there is a likelihood of the removal of these disabilities. The Legislature at two successive sessions has done its part towards making the required change of the constitution, and, when the amendment is ratified by the people, as it surely will be when they come to vote upon it, Harvard professors will rank "before the law" with other citizens of the Commonwealth.

—We notice that the four-hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing into England by John Caxton is to be celebrated by an exhibition of early printed works at Stationers' Hall. A like exhibition in this country does not seem to us wholly impracticable. Already we have seen a few specimens of old books at the Metropolitan Museum, and there is a constant display of them in the cases of the Astor Library. To these the treasures of private libraries could doubtless be added under proper guarantees as to safety. The loan exhibition of pictures last summer proved as profitable as it was beneficial to the public taste and intelligence, and the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum would, we are sure, find their account in promoting a series of loan-collections in the various branches of art. They hardly need to be reminded that there are in this city many small collections, both of art and bric-à-brac, such as collections of lace, enamels, fans, etchings, and playing-cards, no one of which is full enough to be shown by itself, though each might serve as a nucleus in its class. Modern work should be included as well as antique—indeed, at the loan-exhibition of fans at South Kensington in 1870 some of the best specimens came from the dealers, who were only too glad of the opportunity to show their wares to advantage; and at the tapestry-show last winter in the Palais de l'Industrie, if we mistake not, the manufacturers exhibited side by side with the leading collectors. Objects of historic interest, from having been formerly in the possession of any notability, may be admitted, even if of inferior artistic merit. Unfortunately, the space at the disposition of the Museum for such exhibitions is restricted and likely to become more so on the arrival of the new Cesnola collection; but in the new building in Central Park this will not be the case, and pending the removal there the collections might be shown at the National Academy when it is not otherwise occupied. The experience of the past summer has shown that the two institutions can combine for their joint benefit without friction. If any one loan-collection, from its appeal to a limited circle of amateurs, should appear unlikely to be generally attractive, another collection, properly contrasting in subject, could be got together at the same time, and thus each would strengthen the other at no additional expense for exhibition or advertising.

—M. Anatole France, in a foot-note to an appreciative paper in the *Temps* on the greatest of Russian novelists, or, as some would have him, the greatest of living novelists, discusses the various spellings of his name. Of "Tourguénief" he says that it represents, though very inaccurately, the Russian pronunciation, but that "Tourguénef" is the author's own transcription of his name into Roman characters, and he, the feuilletonist, therefore adopts it. We have before remarked that the abolitionist Nicholas, cousin of Ivan, who lived and died in Paris, signed himself "Tourgueneff." The form we have ourselves adopted, "Turgenef," giving the vowels their Italian or German value, corresponds well enough with either of the above authoritative forms, for which the French vowel-system was naturally employed.

—A recent number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contains an interesting article on the Merchant Service of France, the causes of its decline, and the measures best adapted to restore it to its former importance. In 1866 France ranked third in the commercial navies of the world; in 1875 she had fallen to the sixth place. The writer aims to set forth the various causes which have combined to make the decrease of sailing-vessels greater in France than in any other maritime nation. In the first place the heavy import duties render the materials for ship-building much more expensive in France than in England, and, while labor is cheap, the number of skill-

ed workmen and improved machines is small. The use of iron, too, in the construction of vessels of large tonnage has discouraged the building of ships, since English builders have cheaper iron. French ship-owners are required by law to take their crews from the men on the maritime conscription lists, and a sailor once engaged for a voyage is entitled to full wages until the end, and to be brought or sent back to France, and in case of sickness to have all expenses for medical attendance or hospital care defrayed. Every ship-owner, moreover, in addition to the regular fees, pays a special tax of one franc per ton on his ships, which is increased, in the case of partners, for every member of the firm. Wharfage, which in other countries is levied yearly, in France is collected as often as a vessel enters port—a heavy burden for the small coasting vessels. As to remedies, many plans have been advanced by the various Boards of Commerce and by writers who favor protection or free-trade. On the 7th of June, 1876, a congress of the merchant service, composed of ship-owners, of delegates from the chambers of commerce, and a representative of the Society of Steam-transports, advised a return to a moderate system of protection, in order to place ship-building on the same footing with other French industries. M. Labesse is in favor of a system of subsidies, the funds for which would be supplied by levying beaconage on all foreign vessels trading in French ports. The free traders advocate the improvement of the ports, the lowering of railroad tariffs, the abolition of wharfage, and of those taxes which are felt most heavily by the ship-owners, and the establishment of companies of maritime credit; but unfortunately they have no suggestions to offer as to the way in which the state is to find the funds for these reforms.

—M. Fertiault's "Amoureux du livre" (New York: F. W. Christern) would have been really good if it had contained less of the author's own writing. It opens with an agreeable preface by the Bibliophile Jacob, which one would like to have longer, though perhaps if the ideas had been drawn out to fill a hundred pages they would have been as flat as the tales which M. Fertiault calls "Fantaisies d'un bibliomane." It was not wise to begin with such a preface, which throws the rest into the shade. The "Sonnets d'un bibliophile" are a little better than the "Fantaisies." They treat of the various aspects of the passion for books; and, although there are not a few weak lines, there are some vigorous expressions, and some natural if not strong feeling, and, being sonnets, they are therefore short. The best part, however, is the "Bibliophiliana, ce qu'on a dit du livre," an anthology of the sayings of writers of all ages and countries on Books, both materially and intellectually considered. There are over four hundred authors, from Addison [*sic*] to Zaluski; but M. Fertiault says that he has not cited all that he has met with, and has not met with a hundredth part of all that has been written. But there is the well-remembered passage from the oration for Archias, "delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur," and Channing's "No matter though the prosperous of my own time will not enter my dwelling, if the Sacred Writers will enter and take up their abode under my roof, if Milton will cross my threshold to sing to me of Paradise, and Shakspeare to open to me the worlds of imagination and the workings of the human heart, and Franklin to enrich me with his practical wisdom" (which is used to be in the readers and is not now, more's the pity), and extracts from Emerson, Ovid, Irving, Sterne, Lamb, and Scott, and a host of names less familiar to Englishmen. Prefixed to this list is a series of thirty couplets, stating in old French and antique type the duties of the book-lover, and ending

"Et, sans del rebonquineras
Jusques à ton dernier moment."

A previous precept:

"Enfin, surtout, TU LES LIRAS,
C'est mon plus haut commandement."

would, if obeyed, give the public much more respect for bibliomaniacs, who are now regarded, and justly, as little superior to chinomaniacs and collectors of bric-à-brac. M. Fertiault will hardly overcome this unfavorable opinion. His Bibliophiliana shows that he has read his books, but he has not imbibed enough of their spirit to make his own work powerful or even interesting. Books treating of books have always shown a slight tendency to be dull. Richard de Buri shares the heaviness of his age; Dildin is now simply unreadable; Disraeli is not very enlivening. Janin alone in writing "du livre" lacks none of his accustomed sparkle. It may be that the subject is too limited, and that the authors have to pad; but it is probably rather because they aim at too sustained a style; the enthusiasm is affected; the raptures are strained. To the book-hunter, perhaps, it may seem natural and right to spend days on the Paris quays in the cold bise—"sub Jove frigido"—in pursuit of a *bouquin*, or even, like Don Vincente, to murder a dozen men merely to get possession of some marvel of

rarity. But to the common reader, who fancies there is something more serious to be found in life than rare editions or unique copies, all these ecstasies at an Aldus or an Elzevir, a binding by Le Gascon or a margin broader by a millimetre than any one else possesses, seem a little forced.

—The third volume of the *Italia*, edited by Karl Hillebrand, appeared just before the close of the last year, and fully sustains the high reputation earned by the previous numbers. Indeed, the present volume is of even greater general interest than the last two. The first paper, by Franz Boll and Tommaso-Crudeli, discusses the reform of the Italian universities, which, until lately, were at once too numerous and too provincial. The changes introduced by the Government consisted in dividing the universities into two classes, and concentrating on the eight first-class ones at Turin, Pavia, Padua, Bologna, Pisa, Rome, Naples, and Palermo the larger part of the yearly appropriations. The provincial narrowness of these institutions has been corrected by the appointment of professors through examinations open to all comers, and, finally, the standard of scholarship has been raised by subjecting the candidates for degrees to a state examination. Among much valuable information, we learn that of the fifteen different ministers of public instruction from 1859-1876 no less than ten were formerly university professors. Of more restricted interest are the two articles by Fontanelli and Pareto on Italian mining legislation, and Italian railroads. The former article discusses, among other things, the laws regulating the labor of children in mines, and explodes the horrible stories told of the treatment of this class in the sulphur-mines of Sicily. The question of the purchase of the railroads by the state is now agitating the country, and Pareto shows that the Government by its heavy taxes and scanty aid is, to a certain extent, responsible for the wretched financial condition of most of the roads. Paolo Levy, in a paper on the mental nourishment of the Italian people ("Ueber die geistige Nahrung des italienischen Volkes"), offers a mass of valuable statistics concerning the number and class of books, papers, etc., published and circulated in Italy. N. Caix, the distinguished philologist, discusses the old but still living question, Is the Italian language Tuscan? He decides the question in the negative, a conclusion long ago reached, we imagine, by impartial scholars. An interesting account of Rome as the capital of Italy from 1871-1876 is given by Carlo Levi, who describes the moving from Florence, the settlement of the Government in its new quarters, the changes which have taken place in the city, the excavations, etc. It is not an altogether bright picture. We commend the article on Florentine art of the present day to those Americans who have had their busts made in Florence, or who have purchased mosaic tables, or copies of celebrated pictures in the Pitti or Uffizi. The writer, Adolph Bayersdorf, says our money has corrupted Florentine art, and that, "like children and savages, we take a skilful imitation for art itself"; and, again, apropos of mosaic-makers, he remarks that they delight with their bad art "the Indian taste of the American traveller." After this we feel that some apology is due the Italians for the shabby way in which we treated their art exhibit at the Centennial. It was poor, but we had no idea before that we were responsible for it. The remainder of the number is made up of an article on Philipp Joseph von Refues (a German, who was instrumental in awakening in his country an interest in Italy during the early part of this century), metrical translations from the German and Italian, a political review by the editor, and copious notices of late Italian books. The metrical translations are excellent, and consist of versions by Paul Heyse of five of Leopardi's poems, and of seven chapters of Heine's *Atta Troll* by G. Chiarini.

TRUBADOURS AND TROUVÈRES.*

NO one of the Romance languages has undergone so many vicissitudes as the Provençal. From the courtly tongue of the south of Europe it declined into a patois, and became practically a dead modern language. Its older literature remained for centuries a sealed book to scholars, although it had profoundly influenced the early lyrical poetry of Italy, Germany, the north of France and the south of Spain. The decline of Provençal literature in the XIIIth century was due not merely, as is generally stated, to the destruction of the national sentiment by the Albigensian war, but also to the decline of the spirit of chivalry, of which it was the most brilliant exponent. There have been two curious revivals of Provençal literature, both based on an undoubted political feeling, although in the first revival this was studiously concealed. In the year 1323 seven citizens of Toulouse formed the society afterwards known as the *Consistori de la gaja sciensa*, which gave annual prizes for the best poems of various

kinds. The influence of this society on Spanish literature in Catalonia, Aragon, and at the court of John II. of Castile is well known. It was, however, a fruitless attempt to revive the former literary feeling, all the conditions for the success of which were lacking, and it is not surprising that it produced but few results in Provence itself, although the *Consistori* still exists, with some modifications, and awards its golden violet and silver eglantine. Of much greater interest, from a popular standpoint, is the revival effected during the present century by the society of the *Felibre*, founded in 1854 by Roumanille, and among whose most distinguished members are Mistral and Aubanel.

The work which has brought this school prominently before the public is Mistral's *'Mirèio,'* which was translated in 1872 by Miss Preston, the author of the book before us. The favorable reception of this work led the translator to continue her studies in this field, and she has embodied the results of them in a pleasant series of papers on Mistral's *'Calendau,'* Theodore Aubanel, Jacques Jasmin, the *'Songs of the Troubadours,'* and the *'Arthurian.'* These articles, a number of which have already appeared in the *Atlantic*, are illustrated by copious metrical translations from the old and modern Provençal, which, as far as the latter is concerned, may convey a good idea of the original. The two chapters on the *'Songs of the Troubadours,'* however, contain so many inaccuracies, and are the result of such insufficient study, that they give a very incorrect impression of the older Provençal literature. It has been the misfortune of most writers on this subject to be struck at once by the romantic side of their task, and to treat it as some curious product of a half fabulous age. This is quite excusable in those whose knowledge is gained from Millot and Nostradamus, but the principles of modern criticism have been applied to this field, and, thanks to Diez, Bartsch, Meyer, and others, the groundwork of a scientific history of Provençal literature has been securely laid. Miss Preston seems to be familiar only with Sismondi, Adler's *Fauriel* (containing only about one-half of the original work), and the texts in Raynouard, the *'Parnasse Occitanien,'* and Bartsch's *'Chrestomathie Provençale.'* With that most indispensable book, Diez's *'Leben und Werke der Troubadours'* (Zwickau, 1829), she does not seem to be acquainted. Its use would have prevented a number of mistakes, and rendered certain many of her conjectures. For instance, the Arthur mentioned on p. 208 is Arthur of Brittany (see Diez, i. 165 n.); on p. 217 Miss Preston says she has not been able to establish the identity of the "English lord" mentioned in the poem, whereas a reference to Diez, p. 264, shows that it is William IV. of Orange, the poet's patron. In speaking of Guiraut de Bornell, Miss Preston thinks the statement in his biography, "*tot l'ivern estava a scola et aprendia*," indicates a *poetical* school, but it does not; see Diez, *'Poesie der Troubadours'* (Zwickau, 1826, p. 23).

The author's qualifications as a critic may be judged by what she says of Sismondi's superficial remarks on Provençal versification, p. 152: "There never has been a more brilliant analysis of what may be called the technique of the troubadour poetry than Sismondi's in his *'Literature of the South of Europe,'* . . . and whoever would study that versification as an art ought to bestow the most careful attention on Sismondi's first four chapters." Under the influence of this author Miss Preston thinks that terminal rhyme may have been of Oriental origin, and on p. 153 she speaks of the Romance language, evidently with Raynouard's long-ago exploded theory in her mind. This ignorance of the results of modern scholarship leads her into some strange mistakes; thus, on page 173, she quotes "the old manuscript *'Lives of the Troubadours'*" by Carmentière (as Sismondi gives it; it should be Hermentère), and although she qualifies as "rather apocryphal" Nostradamus' *'Lives of the Provençal Poets,'* she does not appear to know that this worthy has been completely exposed by Bartsch and Meyer (see *Jahrb. für rom. und eng. Lit.*, vol. xiii., pp. 1, 121, and *'Les derniers Troubadours de la Provence,'* Paris, 1871, pp. 134, 203). The latter writer, after showing conclusively the bad faith and ignorance of Nostradamus, exclaims: "Après cela, il faut que l'histoire de la littérature provençale soit débarrassée de ce faussaire imbécile." We would also warn the readers of Guillem de Cabestaing's tragic end not to accept too eagerly this story, "in spite of the absence of all conflicting testimony," and refer the translator to Hüffer's monograph on the poet (Berlin, 1869, pp. 28, 29).

Passing now to the subject of the metrical translations from the old Provençal, we regret that we cannot speak very highly of them. The translator says, p. 161, "that she has preserved at all hazards the measure and movement of the originals, the lines of widely varying length, the long-sustained and strangely-distributed rhymes." This statement is not exact, although her versions generally reproduce closely enough the form of the original. On p. 165, however, she fails to give the rhyme continued from

* *'Troubadours and Trouvères, New and Old. By Harriet W. Preston.'* Boston: Roberts Bros. 1876.

stanza to stanza : on p. 171 she carries it through two stanzas only : on p. 174 she alters the rhyme of the eighth and ninth lines : on p. 184, in the original the last word of the stanza serves as the first rhyme-word of the next, but Miss Preston has overlooked this, and again, on p. 229, does not reproduce the continued rhyme of the original. As to the contents, we cannot but feel that the translator has failed to catch the spirit of her originals. Indeed, she herself says "her renderings are not always close—strictly speaking, some of these versions, at least, should rather be called paraphrases." This is the difficulty ; her versions are diffuse paraphrases, full of modern turns and sentiment, and dramatic expressions foreign to the originals, as on p. 182, "The traitor in the dust bid crawl" ; p. 226, "T is o'er ; he's gone," and such phrases as, p. 228 :

"Sleepest or wakest, lady of my vows ?
Oh ! sleep no more, but lift thy quiet brows."

There is, however, one of her versions which merits the severest criticism. We refer to Guiraut de Bornheil's *alba*, p. 227, one of the most famous and beautiful poems in the whole range of the literature. The *alba*, as is well known, represents the lover with his mistress, while a vigilant friend outside keeps watch and warns him when the dawn appears. In the *alba* under consideration the sentry himself sings the first six stanzas, in which he bids his fair companion (*bel companho*, masculine) awake and away. The happy lover answers in the seventh stanza. Miss Preston, for reasons of her own, has omitted the sentry and makes the lover outside address the poem to his mistress within ! This is not paraphrase, it is travesty. The translator, in addition, does not seem to have understood the language of the original. In the sixth stanza the sentry exclaims : "Fair friend, out at the steps (entrance to the house), you begged me not to be drowsy," etc. This Miss Preston translates :

"From thy balcony, lady, yesternight,
Didst thou me to this vigil invite !"

We could not imagine where the word *balcony* came from until we turned to Fauriel, Adler's translation, p. 414, and found, "My fair companion, from yon high balcony you did conjure me not to yield to slumber." It is needless to say that the word in the original, *peiros*, is the French *perron* (Dutch *stoop*), and it is strange that Fauriel should not have understood it. A very good English translation of the above *alba* may be found in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. xxxix., p. 249.

The two chapters on the Troubadours are very free from misprints. We have only noticed two or three—p. 226, *Dans un vergier en fuchla* should be *En un vergier sotz folha*, and p. 229, *un cavalier* should be *us cavaliers*. The concluding article is devoted to an examination of the 'Idyls of the King,' compared with its French and English prototypes. Here also we find emphatic statements which need qualification. For instance, students of early mediæval literature do not know for certain that the Normans marched to victory at the battle of Hastings to the unimaginable tune of the "Chanson de Roland" ; a reference to any critical edition of the poem will show that the matter is far from certain. Miss Preston's concluding remarks about the morality of this cycle are very sensible. It is an interesting fact which she might have noticed that the character of the Arthurian cycle prevented it from ever becoming popular out of France and England (we use the word popular in the sense of *volkstümlich*). In Spain, for example, we know of but two ballads on the subject of Launcelot, and one on Tristram, which three constitute, if we are not mistaken, all the Spanish ballads relating to this cycle. In Germany and Italy it was a favorite one among the knights and ladies from the time of the unfortunate Francesca da Rimini, but there is nothing to show that it was ever popular among the masses.

Our space precludes our noticing several points on which we cannot agree with Miss Preston—for instance, on the relation between the modern system of prosody and the Latin hymnology of the middle ages. Their relation, it strikes us, is that of cognate, and in no sense that of derivative. The whole subject has been thoroughly discussed long before Dean Trench, who merely repeated the views of other scholars. If Miss Preston ever carries out her idea of writing a book on the subject, we commend to her Fuchs's valuable work, 'Die romanischen Sprachen' (Halle, 1849), for all that relates to rhyme, etc., in the Romance languages. In conclusion, it seems to us the faults in Miss Preston's work are the result of insufficient study and an imperfect acquaintance with the bibliography of her subject. She possesses much literary taste and considerable facility in versification, and has before her, in this field, a successful future if she will take as her motto those lines of Ariosto :

"Forse eh' ancor con più solerti studi
Poi ridurrò questo lavor perfetto."

MOLINARI'S LETTERS ON THE UNITED STATES *

M. DE MOLINARI, a well-known political and economical writer attached to the *Journal des Débats*, addressed last summer to that sheet a series of letters descriptive of a rapid tour through the United States. He has just gathered these letters into a volume in which American readers will find a good deal of entertainment and a certain amount of instruction. M. de Molinari, in his capacity of French journalist, is of course lively and witty ; but his vivacity is always in excellent taste. He is moreover extremely observant, and he often renders his impressions with much felicity. He had apparently the advantage of coming to America without strong preconceptions in any direction ; he was not pledged to find democratic institutions purely delightful, nor had he it on his conscience to lay in a stock of invidious comfort for oppressed Europeans. We have had in America too many observers of each of these categories. M. de Molinari's conclusions seem disinterested and liberal, especially when we remember that they were addressed to a journal which is not remarkable (save when M. Laboulaye writes in it) for a deferential consideration of American affairs. They are, in the gross, very much the reflections with which sensible Americans themselves point the moral of their contemporary history. M. de Molinari's weak point appears to have been that he had not time or inclination to look beneath the external surface of American manners, and that he was but scantily acquainted with the language of the people whom he had undertaken to examine. He usually writes his English words faultily—it is startling, for instance, to see a gentleman who has passed three months in America talking of "pilgrims fathers"—and he confesses himself unqualified for conversation. He reproaches us with our ignorance of foreign tongues ; but we doubt whether even the American sentiment of the facility of things is likely to produce a volume upon French institutions by a Transatlantic traveller unfamiliar with the language which M. de Molinari writes so well. We hasten to add, however, that the author has made a great many happy guesses, and has been guilty of fewer serious errors than might have been expected. He says somewhere that every people has certainly its quantum of national vanity, but that that of the Americans towers far above all others. Granting the truth of this assertion, we must yet say that we have in this country this symptom of modesty, that we are always rather surprised when an entertaining book is written about us. Addicted as we are to lamenting the absence of "local color" within our borders, we are astonished to see a foreigner find so many salient points and so much characteristic detail.

M. de Molinari was present at the opening ceremonies of the Centennial Exhibition, to which he devotes a letter ; and he devotes a letter also to the Exhibition itself, by which he seems to have been duly impressed. But we are at a loss to imagine to what class of the population he alludes when he affirms, after observing the multitude at Philadelphia, that the taste for button-hole decorations "is perhaps still more pronounced" among us than in Europe. The only orders we can think of are these of the rosebud and the pink. M. de Molinari has some observations of New York at midsummer, and, considering the circumstances, speaks of this city with extreme kindness. He goes to Coney Island, witnesses the phenomenon of "flirtation" between young persons of opposite sexes, and comments upon it with less imaginative wealth than his countrymen, having a chance at the subject, have sometimes shown. In the train on the way to Baltimore he makes these extremely just reflections :

"One is struck, moreover, with the real politeness of American manners, in spite of the want of ceremony in habits and behavior. All the indications that I am obliged to ask—in what an English, ah heaven !—are given me with perfect courtesy. One perceives immediately that there exists in this country, as a rule, neither an aristocracy nor a populace ; one is afflicted nowhere with the exhibition of grossness or bad morals, . . . but the absence of refinement and elegance in the manners is not less striking. The contact of the superior class has raised the level of the masses ; but perhaps the contact of the masses has, on the other hand, lowered the level of the superior class. Manners form thus a sort of something middling, equally distant from extreme coarseness and extreme refinement."

At Washington, having occasion to apply at the Capitol for two or three Congressional Reports, M. de Molinari is overcome by the matter-of-course way in which the employee presents them to him out of hand, and, without even asking his name, offers to have them made into a parcel free of expense :

"It was impossible to believe ! . . . We leave at last this hospitable Capitol, in which the arrangements for parliamentary comfort are only surpassed by the politeness of the employees of every order, and the sin-

* 'Lettres sur les Etats-Unis et le Canada. Par M. G. de Molinari.' Paris : Hachette ; New York : F. W. Christern. 1876.

gular desire to be agreeable to the public which they manifest upon every occasion. "The world turned upside down!"

The author looks into Canada, where he is agreeably impressed with the respectable, if not the particularly brilliant, character of the French population, on whose behalf he makes an appeal to the sympathies of the mother-country—an appeal which, we are afraid, will fall upon perfectly deaf ears. He laments the uneducated and extremely provincial state of culture of the French Canadians, as compared with their English fellow-citizens, and asks why France should not resume—of course without any political afterthought—a "tutelary part" corresponding, among the French population, to that of England. Why should not the French banks have branches at Quebec, as the English banks have them at Montreal? M. de Molinari repeats these interrogatories when he becomes acquainted with the solid remnant of the French establishment in Louisiana. But we are afraid that he himself gives the answer. "It is certain that we do not suspect the existence of this living branch of the old French root." The French do not suspect the existence of it, and do not care to do so. We doubt that it is within the power of human ingenuity to quicken their consciousness on this point.

M. de Molinari visits Lake George and the "ravishing Hotel Fort William Henry," and spends a day at Saratoga, where, though at midnight his bed was not made up, nor his boots blacked, he generously pronounces the Grand Union Hotel "a colossal manufactory of comfort, and one of the most characteristic creations of American genius." He makes a rapid visit to the South, and is greatly struck with the desolate appearance of many localities; but he finds the Southern whites very "braves gens," and lends a favoring—perhaps a too favoring—ear to their version of their sufferings. He reproduces the Southern account of the situation in a long speech, in which slavery is painted in rose-color and the North is very roughly handled; but he adds that he does not find these arguments wholly satisfactory, inasmuch as before the war it used to be unlawful to teach blacks to read and as Northerners were apt to be tarred and feathered. He despairs of the negroes, thinks apparently that there may have been a good deal in slavery after all, and tells a singular tale of Sherman's army ("which renewed the exploits of the landsknechts and black bands of the Middle Ages") having "violated the tombs in the cemeteries to rob the dead of the jewels with which it is the pious but imprudent custom to bury them"! With all respect to the propriety of the author's sympathy for the hard fate of the Southern States, we suspect that the inhabitants in this part of the country "got round" him more successfully than they did elsewhere. We hear of a "delicious miss" at Savannah, who has "eyes as blue as corn-flowers, fine and delicate features, a complexion of dead whiteness, an opulent golden mane, and that indefinable something feminine which is lacking to her Northern sisters, brought up with boys."

Finding the country in the midst of its Presidential campaign, the author of course made many reflections upon American politics. He gives a sufficiently correct account of each of the platforms, but declares that he has no faith in good results coming from either of them:

"I greatly fear that neither Tilden nor Hayes is capable of reforming a state of things which arises from the vicious attitude (*l'assiette vicieuse*) and the flagrant defects of American institutions. And as neither the politicians nor the passive multitude of the citizens appear to me disposed to seek and recognize the true sources of the evil, the natural course of things can only aggravate this critical situation. Must I say all? I cannot resist the fear that, in the course of a few years, the crisis will terminate, European fashion, in the dictatorship of a 'General' who will undertake, with the support of the Republican party, to bring back a certain order into this disorganized democracy."

M. de Molinari repairs to Cambridge in search of a university "libre et libérale," and finds this ideal realized in Harvard College. He gives of this institution a flattering—we will not say a flattered—portrait. He visits, of course, the Library, "of which the *personnel* is composed in great part of young misses. Observe that this library is almost for the exclusive use of the students of the University. But the young misses of Cambridge *sont des personnes savantes et sages*; they have studied Latin, ay, and Greek too, and I am assured that they have no passion for anything but the Catalogue. It is true that this catalogue is a marvel of method and clearness." And then the author describes the little drawers of the Harvard Library, which, deservedly, are becoming famous the world over. The last pages of M. de Molinari's volume are devoted to various public institutions in New York and to a summing-up of his impressions. He draws a liberal picture of the great things that have been achieved in America—of the energy and audacity which have built up the material prosperity of the country. As we look at this picture "we are penetrated with admiration; for never has so colossal an effort been accomplished, and never have results so prodigious been obtained by human industry. The levees of the Missis-

sippi alone have exacted more work than the dykes of Holland [we may perhaps question the exactitude of this statement], and the network of railways in the United States is almost as extensive as that of Europe." But M. de Molinari observes that social and intellectual culture has remained much behind—we make excellent pianos but no musicians—and that political morality is further behind still. Upon our political abuses, upon the unworthy character of our professional politicians, and the scandalous nature of much of our political machinery, he makes all those reflections of which even extreme familiarity has not diminished the pertinence. But in speaking of our political machinery he becomes somewhat fantastical. The fallibility of the spectator who must run as he reads is here amusingly evident. Flag-raising and torch-light processions have gone to M. de Molinari's head and disordered his judgment. He regards these frolicsome phenomena as the prime agency in the electoral process, and the chief instrument by which the wicked politicians beguile the easily-hamboozled people into working their will. The gravity with which he unfolds this charge, which forms the last and apparently the principal clause in his indictment of American politics, is really startling:

"The orators at the meetings talk in the midst of garlands of Chinese lanterns, their faces illumined by projections of electric light; the booming of the big drum and the clash of copper, at a rate to rouse the dead, mark time to their speeches. Besides, these orators are well-dressed and polished gentlemen. . . . And this is how the American elections have finished by resembling the practical jokes of a carnival or the parade of a company of mountebanks. This is how, to my ineffable stupefaction, I saw the election of the future chief of one of the most powerful and civilized nations of the earth prepared with the same apparatus which serves at fairs to attract the crowd to the Siren of the Tropics or the Albinos of Madagascar."

And he considers that the first lesson to be drawn from "the reverse of the medal of the great republic" is that "it is not sufficient to go to our electoral reunions costumed as Troubadours and Turks to ameliorate seriously the composition of our political class." Let those whom the shoe pinches take notice, and let the American elector in general take care how he suffers the Troubadours and Turks to twist him around their fingers.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.*

LAUD was throughout his career the university don in power. In his virtues and in his faults observers acquainted with modern Oxford or Cambridge can trace with ease the familiar merits and vices of a clerical head of a college. Laud still argues in the university pulpit, still admonishes undergraduates at "collections," still manages the business of the bursary, still bullies, snubs, and overbears the half-admiring Fellows of many a common room. The true interest of Laud lies not in his acts as a minister, for his statesmanship was, as even Dean Hook admits, contemptible; nor in any originality of mind, for his character was essentially poor and commonplace; but in the fact that in him a critic finds a familiar acquaintance, and cannot but feel some pleasure in observing the result of the experiment tried but once in English history of giving the guidance of the country into the hands of a man fitted by nature, training, and circumstances to rule a college. It must be at once admitted that Laud had the merits of a clerical don. He was not the "ridiculous old bigot" of Macaulay's essay. In many respects he was free from the bigotry of his time. For the prejudices of vulgar ignorance or popular enthusiasm Laud cherished what may be described as professional contempt. When he commenced his course at Oxford, Calvinism was the prevailing creed, and when Laud entered the arena as an anti-Calvinistic controversialist, he displayed at any rate independence of judgment, and, tried by modern standards, would be considered less bigoted than his opponents. He seems to have possessed, indeed, precisely that kind of controversial ability which is fostered by collegiate training. There are always to be found at the universities men who, though only occasionally (as in the case of Archbishop Whately) known to the outer world, are famed within the circle of their acquaintance for their astonishing quickness in perceiving, and dexterity in exposing, errors and prejudices from which they happen themselves to be free. Such a man was Laud. The Calvinists, whom he first assailed, found him no doubt a formidable foe, for he was exactly the person to strike hard at the weak points of a creed the strength of which he never understood or tried to understand. The Jesuit, with whom he joined battle in later life, no doubt also found that he had to deal with an adversary skilful in the thrusts and parries of theological polemics. Of Laud's refutation of Fisher we know nothing more than is told us by Dean Hook, but we are

* *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. Vol. VI. New Series. London: Bentley & Son.

quite prepared to believe that it is an able defence of Anglicanism, in so far as the weak points of one form of belief can be defended by pointing out the still greater weakness of another. That kind of faith which is the result not of well-grounded conviction in the truth of one's own dogmatic position, but rather of keen insight into the weak points of competing creeds, is often enough found to flourish in English university common-rooms.

It is not a very attractive or inspiring form of faith, but it is in its way sincere, and there seems no reason to doubt that Laud sincerely condemned the popular fallacies of Calvinism and the historical errors of Romanism. For he possessed, and in this, too, he was true to the best quality of a don's character, if not learning yet a genuine care for learning and an esteem for learned men. When to this is added Laud's affection for his college, we have a pretty fair account of his virtues. A sharp controversialist, an admirer of learning, a man zealous for the prosperity of his college, and a Fellow imbued with that love of order and propriety which, if not attractive, is not unbecoming in a schoolmaster or a tutor, he was exactly fitted to be president of St. John's. The misfortune for himself and for his country was that his own faults and favoring circumstances raised him to a higher and far less suitable position. For Dean Hook, though wishing to put the best construction he can on the career of a man whom Anglicans must perforce make into a "martyr," wants the skill and is absolutely incapable of the dishonesty needed to conceal the fact that Laud had all the faults of a very commonplace head of a college. Of sympathy or charity for others he seems to have been absolutely incapable. A certain narrowness of mind combined with meanness of character may occasionally be found in the clerical dignitaries who hold sway at the universities, and these qualities were certainly not wanting in Laud. He has been termed a "busy, bustling divine," and the description well hits off one aspect of his life. He was always on the lookout for advancement; and in an age when advancement depended upon patronage, to look out for advancement meant to look out for a patron. Laud, like many busy, bustling divines before and after his time, does not appear to have been scrupulous as to the kind of patron he chose. One transaction betrays the whole of the man's character. He married Lady Penelope Devereux, the divorced wife of Lord Rich, to the Earl of Devonshire. "Laud," writes his biographer with most creditable candor, "must have been aware that when he performed the marriage ceremony he was guilty of an illegal act. Nothing can justify conduct which betrayed weakness in a character of which weakness was not the predominant fault, but in which there was ever a strict adherence to law and principle." Whether the term "illegal" be strictly accurate or not we cannot assert. What is certain is, that Laud, at the wish of a patron, violated all his own principles. He wrote, it is urged in defence, a fine penitential prayer, and made the anniversary of his fault a day of recurring penance.

This transaction, however, cannot be taken alone. It throws an unpleasant light on Laud's intimate connection with Buckingham. The duke was as worthless a minister as any one who has ever held power in England. The favorite of James and of Charles was certainly not the man whom a divine and a bishop would naturally choose for an associate. Yet to Buckingham Laud attached himself firmly, and gained thereby the advantages which result from powerful patronage. We do not doubt that Laud really became attached to the duke, nor do we suppose that Laud's desire for worldly success implied religious hypocrisy. What may with truth be said is that throughout his life the archbishop displayed a tough coarseness of moral fibre which, though not inconsistent with freedom from hypocrisy, is certainly more fitted to promote success in this world than to be the basis of a saintly or religious character. The associate of Buckingham and Strafford was hardly in a position to conciliate by the weight of his character opponents repelled by his doctrines and disgusted by the harshness of his manner, the coldness of his heart, and the pettiness of his intellect. The picture of the archbishop drawn by May is, as pointed out by Hallam, perhaps the fairest summary of his character:

"The archbishop . . . was a man vigilant enough, of an active, or rather a restless, mind, more ambitious to undertake than politic to carry on, of a disposition too fierce and cruel for his coat, which, notwithstanding, he was so far from concealing in a subtle way that he increased the envy of it by insolence. He had few private vices, as being neither taxed of covetousness, intemperance, nor incontinence, and, in a word, a man not altogether so bad in his personal character as unfit for the state of England."

It is this essential "unfitness" for the government of England on the part not only of Laud, but of the class of men of whom Laud is the type, which merits peculiar attention. A man who plays a prominent part in the life of an English university is always a man of some force of charac-

ter. He is often a person of considerable intellectual acuteness, and his training qualifies him to deal with persons who look up to him as a teacher, but need not be treated as equals. It is, it may be suspected, the necessity of constantly assuming the attitude of a teacher which more than any other circumstance disqualifies a leader of men at the university to become a leader in public life. Every step of Laud's career, at any rate, betrays the peculiar weaknesses of a clergyman and a don. He attempted, for instance, to exclude from promotion all Puritan divines. Now, to realize what this attempt meant, we must suppose a modern archbishop to recommend that no clergyman should, if possible, be promoted who did not belong, say, to the class of extreme ritualists. The effect of such a policy, if carried out, would, even in the XIXth century, probably be to shake the Church of England to its foundations. But the same policy in the time of Charles the First meant something much more serious than we can easily realize by any comparison drawn from modern times. The church and the clergy played a far greater part in the England of the XVIIth century than they play in any modern state. Politics and theology were, moreover, hopelessly blended together. Laud's simple scheme for promoting those whom he considered sound divines was nothing less than an attempt to exclude from promotion every clergyman whom the people of England respected or trusted, whilst promoting the men whom the people regarded with the profoundest suspicion; an attempt combined with the endeavor to exclude from influence in the church the most powerful political party in the nation. Laud's changes in ritual are open to the same observations. Grant, for the sake of argument, that they might all be legally justified, still the fact remains that the archbishop was in effect an innovator. Among a people enthusiastic for Protestantism he introduced changes which either meant nothing, or really meant a movement if not necessarily towards Rome, certainly against Protestantism.

The crucial instance by which Laud's policy may be tested is, after all, the policy pursued by Charles towards Scotland. The exact degree of Laud's personal responsibility for the form of worship drawn up is really irrelevant. He certainly agreed in and counselled what was really nothing less than a direct attack on Scotch Presbyterianism. Dean Hook fails to realize what to most of his readers must seem the true character of Laud's Scotch policy. The dean, in the first place, never appreciates the fact that Scotland was an independent kingdom, and that Laud in his dealings with Scotland outraged every feeling of national independence. But the dean further is, from his own ecclesiastical views, absolutely incapacitated from viewing Laud's conduct in the light in which it must inevitably be viewed by the mass of English Protestants. "He is accused," writes the dean, "of unchurching the sects of human foundation—Calvinism, Presbyterianism, and others. But it is a fact, whether he asserted it or denied it, that they were unchurching." From the dean's point of view this, no doubt, is a perfect defence of Laud. To persons not Anglicans it seems not so much an apology as a statement of the precise point at issue between Laud and the English nation. The archbishop was not consciously tending towards Rome, though the Pope, who offered him a cardinal's hat, and the Puritans who believed him to be in heart a Catholic, judged the tendency of his course more truly than he himself. But he was determined to have no alliance with Protestantism, whilst the fixed determination of the English people was to ally themselves heart and soul with their fellow-Protestants. The eulogists of Laud would certainly make a better case if they dropped special pleas as to the legality of his particular steps, and admit his opposition to the religious convictions of the English nation. He might then stand forward as the hero and victim of an attempted ecclesiastical reaction, and reach intellectually the level of Strafford.

But we doubt whether such an admission would not do at once less and more than justice to Laud. It would be quite in keeping with his character for him to have reduced great questions, even in his own mind, to matters of mere ecclesiastical order and discipline. He had, it may be granted, a real respect for the law when it enabled him to crop the ears of Puritans, and could not realize that acts might be illegal which favored the power of the crown and the church. If he was not a bigot, he certainly was not the "saint or patriot" of Wordsworth's poem. When Protestantism and Catholicism were engaged in the life-and-death struggle of the Thirty Years' War, he probably believed that England could be kept to the *via media* admired by Anglicanism by means of the same sort of discipline (rather more severely administered) by which a college is kept in order. One knows not whether to admire or smile at the care for propriety which made him anxious, even when approaching his end, that an archbishop should at least die by the axe, and not by the halter. The trait, at any rate, exhibits to perfection that stern desire for the preservation of proprieties always to be found deep seated in the souls of clericals and dons.

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